

## URGING THE PRESIDENT NOT TO EXTEND DIPLOMATIC OR OTHER RECOGNITION TO THE TRANSKEI TERRITORY

SEPTEMBER 2, 1976.—Referred to the House Calendar and ordered to be printed

Mr. SOLARZ, from the Committee on International Relations,  
submitted the following

### REPORT

[To accompany H. Res. 1509]

The Committee on International Relations, to whom was referred the resolution (H. Res. 1509) urging the President not to extend diplomatic or other recognition to the Transkei territory, having considered the same, report favorably thereon without amendment and recommend that the resolution do pass.

#### PURPOSE

The principal purpose of the resolution is to encourage the President not to extend diplomatic recognition to the Transkei territory, the first of the bantustans or homelands in South Africa slated for independence, when the Republic of South Africa declares the territory independent on October 26, 1976.

#### COMMITTEE ACTION

On August 31, 1976, Stephen J. Solarz introduced House Resolution 1509 to urge the President not to extend diplomatic or other recognition to the Transkei territory. The resolution was also sponsored by 13 other members of the International Relations Committee, including Mr. Biester, Mr. Bingham, Mr. Buchanan, Mr. Diggs, Mr. Fascell, Mr. Findley, Mr. Fraser, Mr. Harrington, Mrs. Meyner, Mr. Nix, Mr. Riegle, Mr. Ryan, and Mr. Studds. The resolution was referred to the Committee on International Relations.

The Committee on International Relations considered House Resolution 1509 in an open markup session on September 1, 1976, and by voice vote ordered it reported favorably to the House.

The House International Relations Subcommittee on International Resources, Food, and Energy under Chairman Charles C. Diggs pre-

viously had held hearings May 25, June 8, and 9 on "Resource Development in South Africa and U.S. Policy."

#### BACKGROUND

On October 26, 1976, the Republic of South Africa intends to declare the territory of the Transkei independent. This move would be the first part of the South African plan to create 10 separate homelands or bantustans in South Africa to which all blacks within the country would be assigned on the basis of ethnic origin. The homelands policy, which is the major prop in the whole foundation of apartheid, is intended by the South Africa Government to "solve" its simmering black-white confrontation over the apartheid policy which has brought virtually total condemnation from the rest of the world.

Under the apartheid system, blacks within South Africa have no representation in Parliament, cannot leave their own community for more than 72 hours, and cannot live with their own families unless they have resided in the area in which they work all their lives or have worked there continuously for at least 15 years. For millions of black contract laborers in South Africa, this means they can only see their families for several weeks a year. There is little doubt that the black South Africans are among the most repressed people in the world. Yet the economy of South Africa, which has achieved a high degree of wealth in the country as a whole, has been built with the vital ingredient of black labor.

The policy of apartheid has not only brought down upon the South African Government virtually universal disapproval from other countries but has also caused widespread bitterness among South African blacks. The growing sense of rage and frustration was openly exhibited in the riots that recently swept Soweto and other black townships within South Africa.

To compound the problems of the Government of South Africa, the buffer of white-ruled states that helped to insulate the country from the black nationalism which has swept the African continent has begun to disappear with the fall of the colonial regimes in Angola and Mozambique, the likely collapse of the Smith government in Rhodesia, and the future independence of Namibia, or South-West Africa.

The South African Government's response to the pressure building against its social and political system has been to reaffirm its commitment to the homelands policy. In theory, the independence of black-ruled areas might be welcomed as a victory for self-determination. In reality, however, the establishment of the homelands is designed to safeguard the supremacy and survival of the white regime by enabling the Government to deprive the blacks of the rights to which they otherwise would be entitled on the grounds that they are visitors in, rather than citizens of, South Africa—even though they may have lived and worked in South Africa all their lives.

There are, in this regard, several reasons why the implementation of the homelands policy is a step backward rather than forward:

- (1) The black population of South Africa, which constitutes over 70 percent of the total population, would be assigned citizen-

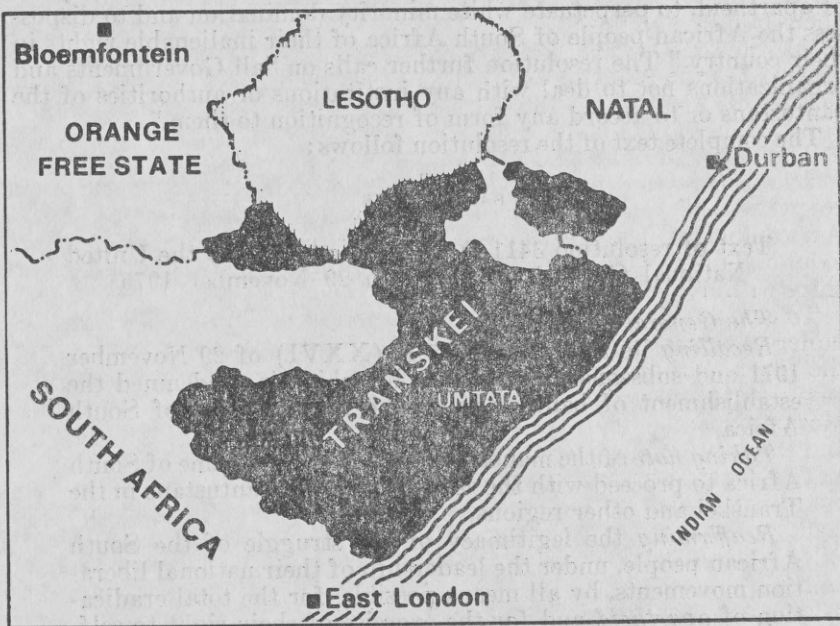
ship in areas which constitute only 13 percent of the land area of the country.

(2) The land assigned to the bantustans is far removed from the major areas of industrial or mineral wealth within South Africa.

(3) The South African Government intends to deprive blacks living in white areas of South Africa, even if they continue to work and live there, of their South African citizenship once their tribal homelands are declared independent. Even the approximately 6 million urban blacks who constitute the backbone of the industrial labor force will lose their South African citizenship, thus becoming foreigners in their own native country.

4. The South African Government has never conducted a referendum to determine if the blacks want citizenship in the homelands to which they are assigned rather than in South Africa, let alone whether they favor the homelands policy itself.

#### THE TRANSKEI



The Transkei territory would be the first territory made independent under the South African policy. The territory stretches westward from the Kai River to Natal and northward from the Indian Ocean to Lesotho and the Orange River. The three parts to the territory cover nearly 17,000 square miles, or an area roughly the size of Denmark. The freed area would provide citizenship for about 3 to 4 million people, and will include the Xhosa-speaking people. The Trans-

keian authorities have reported that in 1973 there were 64,700 people employed within the Transkei.

Chief Minister Kaiser Matanzima of the Transkei and his political party are supporting the South African policy for independence in the territory. However, Matanzima maintains his control in the territory with the help of an emergency proclamation issued in 1960 which gives him authority to ban meetings, to detain people indefinitely without trial, and to deny free speech or movement. Matanzima used his extraordinary powers recently to arrest the leading members of the opposition party in the Transkei who oppose independence. The urban Xhosas who live and work in areas of South Africa far removed from the Transkei have not been asked if they favor independence for the territory "assigned" to them, nor has there been any attempt to determine if the rural Xhosas within the Transkei desire independence.

After the South African Government announced its policy to set October 26, 1976 as the date of independence, the United Nations General Assembly special political committee in November of 1975 adopted by 100 to 0, with 8 abstentions, a resolution condemning "the establishment of bantustans as designed to consolidate the inhuman policies of apartheid, to perpetuate white minority domination and to dispossess the African people of South Africa of their inalienable rights in their country." The resolution further calls on "all Governments and organizations not to deal with any institutions or authorities of the bantustans or to accord any form of recognition to them."

The complete text of the resolution follows:

#### BANTUSTANS

Text of resolution 3411 D (XXX) adopted by the United National General Assembly on 29 November 1975

*The General Assembly,*

*Recalling* its resolution 2775 E (XXVI) of 29 November 1971 and subsequent resolutions by which it condemned the establishment of bantustans by the racist régime of South Africa,

*Taking note* of the manoeuvres of the racist régime of South Africa to proceed with the establishment of bantustans in the Transkei and other regions,

*Reaffirming* the legitimacy of the struggle of the South African people, under the leadership of their national liberation movements, by all means possible, for the total eradication of *apartheid* and for the exercise of their right to self-determination,

1. *Again condemns* the establishment of bantustans as designed to consolidate the inhuman policies of *apartheid*, to perpetuate white minority domination and to dispossess the African people of South Africa of their inalienable rights in their country;
2. *Reaffirms* that the establishment of bantustans is a measure essentially designed to destroy the territorial integrity of



the country in violation of the principles enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations;

3. *Calls upon* all Governments and organizations not to deal with any institutions or authorities of the bantustans or to accord any form of recognition to them.

The Organization of African Unity has likewise declared its firm opposition to the independence of the Transkei. The Council of Ministers of the Organization of African Unity meeting in late June and early July of 1976 reaffirmed this policy and urged all governments "not to accord recognition to any Bantustan, in particular, the Transkei whose so-called independence is scheduled for the 26 October 1976."

The complete text of this resolution follows:

#### CM/Res. 493 (XXVII)

##### RESOLUTION ON NON-RECOGNITION OF SOUTH AFRICAN BANTUSTANS

The Council of Ministers of the Organization of African Unity meeting in its Twenty-Seventh Ordinary Session in Port Louis, Mauritius, from 25 June to 3 July 1976,

*Considering* that the Pretoria régime is accelerating its policy of Bantustanization, the cornerstone of *Apartheid* designed to ensure the balkanization, tribal fragmentation and fratricidal conflict in South Africa to the benefit of white supremacy,

*Reaffirming* the OAU's sacred commitment to the principles of territorial and national integrity of all territories under foreign domination and fighting for liberation and self-determination,

*Recalling* previous resolutions of the OAU the non-aligned movement and the United Nations against the Bantustan policy,

1. Reaffirms the OAU's condemnation and rejection of the Bantustan policy and urges all Member States to refrain from establishing contact with the emissaries of the so-called Bantu Homelands;

2. Invites all States and in particular Member States of the OAU in their totality not to accord recognition to any Bantustan, in particular, the Transkei whose so-called independence is scheduled for the 26 October 1976;

3. Declares that violation of this collective commitment by any Member State will be seen as a betrayal of not only the fighting people of South Africa but the entire continent;

4. Commits the OAU through the General Secretariat the African Group to the United Nations and African diplomatic representatives throughout the world to wage a concerted campaign to dissuade all UN Member States from recognizing this fraudulent pseudo-independence.

The fate of the Transkei is a test case for the whole Bantustan policy. If the Transkei fails to gain international recognition after

October 26, 1976, there is a possibility that the South African Government will not proceed to the establishment of the other nine homelands.

The United States has so far refrained from formally endorsing or opposing the granting of independence to the Transkei. However, Secretary of State Henry Kissinger recently enunciated a new American policy toward Southern Africa in which he called for the elimination of apartheid and is presently engaged in a series of delicate negotiations to find a peaceful resolution to the conflicts over Rhodesia and Namibia. Since U.S. recognition of the Transkei would objectively serve to legitimize the very policy which Secretary Kissinger has said "is incompatible with any concept of human dignity," it seems fair to say that the establishment of diplomatic relations with the Transkei would undermine our own policy objectives in the area.

United States recognition of the independence of the Transkei after October 26 would also cause severe damage to America's standing in black Africa and potentially could endanger our current efforts to secure the support of the black African governments for a negotiated transition from minority to majority rule in Rhodesia. It would, in short, be a moral miscalculation and diplomatic disaster of incalculable proportions.

House Resolution 1509 attempts to avoid the pitfalls of such a policy by expressing the sense of the House of Representatives that the President should refrain from according diplomatic or any other kind of recognition to the Transkei. It also makes it clear to the people of Africa, as well as the rest of the world, that the House of Representatives is firmly opposed to the discredited policy of apartheid and this transparent effort, through the independence of the Transkei, to prop it up.

#### COST ESTIMATE

Pursuant to Clause 7, Rule XIII of House Rules, the Committee finds that this resolution does not authorize the appropriation of any funds, and that no costs would be incurred in carrying out this resolution.

#### STATEMENT REQUIRED BY CLAUSE 2(1)(3) OF RULE XI OF THE RULES OF THE HOUSE

Pursuant to the requirement of clause 2(1)(3) of Rule XI of the Rules of the House of Representatives, the following statements are made:

##### (A) OVERSIGHT FINDINGS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

On May 25, June 8 and 9, 1976, the Subcommittee on International Resources, Food, and Energy held hearings on "Resource Development in South Africa and U.S. Policy." Those hearings developed information about the lack of resources which will confront the people of the Transkei.

##### (B) BUDGET AUTHORITY

This resolution does not provide any additional budget authority.

(C) CONGRESSIONAL BUDGET OFFICE ESTIMATE AND COMPARISON

No estimate and comparison prepared by the Director of the Congressional Budget Office under section 403 of the Congressional Budget Act of 1974 has been received by the committee.

(D) COMMITTEE ON GOVERNMENT OPERATIONS SUMMARY

No oversight findings and recommendations have been received which relate to this measure from the Committee on Government Operations under clause 2(b) (2) of Rule X.

INFLATIONARY IMPACT STATEMENT

There are no funds authorized by this resolution and enactment of this resolution would have no inflationary impact.

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(C) CONGRESSIONAL BUDGET OFFICE ESTIMATE AND COMMENTARY

No estimate and comparison prepared by the Director of the Congressional Budget Office under section 403 of the Congressional Budget Act of 1974 has been received by the committee.

(D) COMMITTEE ON GOVERNMENT OPERATIONS SUMMARY

No savings findings and recommendations have been received which relate to this measure from the Committee on Government Operations under clause 2(d) (2) of Rule 22.

EXPLANATORY LEGISLATIVE STATEMENT

There are no funds authorized by this resolution and enactment of this resolution would have no inflationary impact.